1: Hanigman: E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Release ND12

things according to the detailed specifications of adults, rather the child is given an opportunity to work out for himself the details of many cultural tasks. The responsibility accorded to a twelve year old was vividly demonstrated in Lower Post when five children, ranging from seven to twelve, climbed into a boat to cross the Liard River. The oldest boy could not start the outboard motor and the vessel began to drift down the swift current. He gave orders to his companions, and four children seized the oars, two on each side, and in that way they crossed. [illegible]

Correlated with the child's early development of independence and a sense of personal responsibility is the fact that children, especially girls, are not long exempt from making economic contributions to the family. It must be realized, however, that in a society where only relatively brief periods of intense labor are required to necessary end in which duties are undertaken honestly, without compulsion, there remains abundant free time which children may claim for themselves. The Kaska girl, like her mother, is not a household drudge and the economic obligations of children do not restrict either sex from play or from social connections with agemates. [illegible]

Adolescence

The period from puberty to marriage is a relatively short one for the Kaska girl and only slightly longer for the boy. It is a time which marks the full growth of the independence for which young people have been prepared since early childhood. No social recognition marks the transition to puberty in the boy or girl. [illegible]

Menarche is handled so privately by a girl's mother that sometimes not even the father is aware that his daughter has reached physical maturity. Sequestration of menstruants has only recently disappeared.* Apart from the fact that some men refrain from sexual intercourse during catamenia, there are practically no inhibitions concerning girls' behavior at this time. Since women are reluctant to speak of menstruation, even to other women, the subject was not a suitable one for obtaining detailed information. According to Pauline Donnelly, no elsewhere is ways to catch the menstrual flow. Observation suggests that younger women often change from slacks to dresses when the flow is in progress. [illegible]

For the girl puberty is accompanied by few major changes in her economic role. She has been using a small ulu for a year or two and has already been given the task of running her mother's cutting lines. With her mother or some she has started trapping and running errands for the men into her ways. The pubescent girl is generally so accomplished now, able to make dresses or moccasins, and has sufficiently observed the processing of meat to be able to carry out the task herself. In a word, she is an adult in her experience as her physiological capacities permit. Beginning with puberty a mild avoidance relationship, phased to shyness, begins to develop between many girls and their fathers. This persists even after the girl is married. "Used to be, Dena like my heart," Old Mike said. "Now she grew up I wouldn't talk to her. Never like that." [illegible]

The economic role of the boy has not been so fully developed as the girl's, due to, unlike her sisters, he has not been given as many opportunities to learn his socially expected roles [illegible]

* The informants regarding what men have been aware of the fact and of puberty representations are Dorothy Pierre's autobiographical sketch [illegible], as [illegible]

At repeated (often frequent) intervals during the first to fourth year of a child's life the father prayed over his child. With his hand he stroked the naked body, then holding his head pain up, towards the Day Dawn, he blew along it as if blowing something off the pain. At the same time he prayed aloud (to the Day Dawn) saying, if the child was a boy, "May my child be strong and healthy", "May sickness always pass him by", "May he be a good hunter", "May he be wealthy" etc., and if a girl, "May she be good at work","May she be good at making waterskins" etc. He prayed for whatever he desired for the child in the way of health and accomplishments, etc.

PUBERTY OF GIRLS

The attainment of puberty was considered the most critical and important period in a girl's life. What she did at this period would affect her future life and ensure her good luck or the reverse. She therefore at this time had to undergo a period of careful training to make her lucky and fit her to become a useful woman and esteemed member of the tribe.

Puberty was considered a "great mystery". At this first budding out of womanhood girls were believed to be endowed with certain supernatural powers over persons and things the abuse of which might do many great harm both to themselves and people in general.

A girl could unknowingly cast evils on people if not prevented. She was also unclean and therefore was capable of giving offence to game animals or of making them afraid. For these reasons, her powers had to be directed and controlled. Thus girls were isolated etc. and many restrictions and taboos were enjoined on them. Details of these restrictions extended to beyond the period of the girl's training and isolation.

On the first appearance of menstrals a lodge was at once erected for the girl and to this she had to retire. Girls' lodges were constructed of the same materials and were of the same shape as other lodges of the tribe. All were small in size or generally just large enough to accommodate the girl for sleeping, sitting and shelter. Lodges used by rich people's daughters were of the ordinary bees-to-hives and covered with skin instead of brush etc. The lodge was first pitched about five hundred yards away from the main lodge or lodges of the people as sufficiently far away to be beyond the general scene of the camp. After three or four months the lodge was shifted closer to the people's camp and at the same time the brush or other floor covering of the lodge was removed. After a time (perhaps another three months) the lodge was shifted again closer and the shifting continued at intervals until at last just before the girl's period of isolation

model her lodge was so close to the camp it almost 551
formed a part of camp. As soon as the girl was isolated,
her mother, aunt or some elderly relative took charge
of her and became her attendant and instructor. The 581
girl was robed in a blanket of brownish earthen skin, 292
which covered her almost down to her feet. The upper
part resembled above her head over which it was drawn so
as to extend beyond her face on both sides. Some of
these robes had the upper part sewed into a robe hood
which covered her head and extended forward about two
feet beyond her face, precluding her seeing on each
side. The robe was held in place by a leather belt
around the waist. She wear the entire hood part of the 581
robe to hide her face when she was aware of anything 769
being near which should pin see her face or which she
herself should not see. It was believed her glance was
harmful to men and to game etc. Men should not see her
face nor be seen by her. For this reason all males,
including her nearest relatives, kept away from her for
several months and she kept out of their sight. Only
females were allowed to visit her. Female relatives 551
and neighboring women sometimes came to chat with her
and give her instruction. They continued to visit her
during the whole time of her isolation. During this 551
period the girl had to learn something of all the work 555
and duties which would devolve on her in future years.

She had to acquaint herself with and, as much as possible, perfect herself in all kinds of women's work. This was done under the guidance of her attendant and the women who visited her from time to time. Her work was examined and criticised by these women, who also related her progress and always encouraged her to persevere and do better. Thus she commenced to do all kinds of sewing and embroidery, to make moccasins, do netting, fill moccasins, etc. It was considered right that she should be industrious at this period so she would in after years have this virtue. Therefore, /in order/ that she be kept busy, and to ensure sufficient practice, many women brought moccasins for her to make or to mend, and sewing to do for them. She had to finish properly all the work brought to her and received no payment of any kind for her work. The girl had to work diligently at making robes, clothes and all kinds of things made by women, and thus also learned all kinds of cutting, shaping, and sewing. Girls had to keep out of sight of people generally and men in particular and therefore spent by far the greater part of their time in their lodges. Girls wore no head bands, but tail caps of leather were used by some. Of late years these have been made of red or blue cloth. Garters of twisted skin enclosing birds down were used. Each girl used a drinking tube and scratcher of bone suspended around the

neck by a leather string. If a girl drank water without the tube, the water would hurt her stomach and cause her internal sickness of some kind. Tubes were made of the long wing bones of swans and geese. Eagle wing bones and lynx bones were not used. As a rule they were entirely unornamented in any way. They were generally carried in tube carriers made of square and oblong pieces of skin varying in size and worn with a string around the neck. The piece of skin was folded in two and the middle sewed across a little below the fold making a pocket to fit the circumference of the tube. The skin below formed two flaps which were often ornamented with fringes and pendants as well.

The tube was inserted and carried in the pocket, the embroidered flaps below being merely for ornament. Some were made of single or undoubled skin. These fancy tube carriers are nowadays generally made of cloth and embroidered with bead or silk work. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.) Also, there are good specimens illustrated by Emmons, Plate VIII B.AE. Scratchers were made of various kinds of bones. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.) is of swan bone. The flaps are of caribou leather beaded and ornamented with beaver claws and strips of wooden bead work. The carrying strap is of leather into which bird's down is twisted. A small bag of grease was carried attached to

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A small bag of grease was carried attached to the same neck string as the drinking tube or to the ornamented flaps of the latter, and every day, early in the morning, the girl smeared her mouth or lips so she would not require much food. The sack was replenished from time to time as required. (See National Museum Specimen No. 48.)

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For the first three to five days, the girl when eating wore a necklace consisting of a bent willow rod wrapped with hair of goat or sheep, etc. Of each kind of variety of meat she ate, she tied a small portion to the necklace with a string. This was done so the game would not become angry or sorry because she (a pubescent) had eaten of their flesh. If the animals became sorry, insulted, or angry they would withhold (or withdraw) themselves and the hunters would be unable to get them or have other bad luck in hunting them. For the same reasons fresh meat was taboo. If, by necessity, other meat or food not being available, the girl had to eat fresh meat of the principal game, she wore a mask whilst eating it. These masks were made of light willow hoops covered with skin of goat, sheep or other game animals. The only fresh meat which girls could eat with impunity was that of porcupine, ptarmigan and the different varieties of grouse. On the first day the girl smeared her face with pitch or gum of trees, and blackened it by rubbing charcoal over

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all. From time to time as required this was renewed during the whole period of isolation. It is said this was done to make the skin of the face white in after years. For about three days, she wore a string tied around the back three fingers of each hand so the joints of her fingers would not grow big. A white or light complexion and small hands with inconspicuous joints were considered beautiful and therefore desirable. Faces of girls are not painted black nowadays but gum is still used. At the same time that the face was first blackened the girl's hair was done up. It was divided into two locks or bunches which were brought together and crossed tightly at the back of the head or near the neck, each end being tied firmly to the main part of the opposite lock.

The hair was not combed for a long time, often several months, and with some not until the period of training and isolation was over. The girl must not touch her hair or head with her finger tips or scratch it with her nails. She must use her scratcher for this purpose. When she handled firewood or put wood on the fire she must use mitts. This was so the skin of her hands and especially that of her finger tips would not be rough in after years. Other ceremonies girls performed were as follows. The girl rubbed her body with small, very smooth water worn stones, preferably those

[881] of a black color, so her skin would be smooth and soft. Some rubbed the entire body including the privates. She blew water out of her mouth, catching it in her hands and rubbing it over her body. At the same time she prayed and said, "May I obtain good things as easily and quickly as I do this". She put smooth stones down [844] the neck of her robe and when they dropped out she uttered the wish that she would always be delivered of child easily.

[136] She caught some lice and put them on a chip of wood or bark which she set afloat on water. At the same time she said "May lice leave me, and may I have none in after years".

She carried a load of wood (or anything) and whilst carrying it, prayed, "May I be strong and able to carry heavy burdens".

She attached stones to the ends of her hair and prayed her hair would grow long.

She made quick movements with her body and arms, etc., and prayed, "May I be able to move thus quickly when I become old". When a girl lit the fire she did so as quickly as possible, meanwhile praying, "May I always be able to light fires quickly even when I am old". She walked fast and ran fast sometimes, praying, "May I thus be able to walk and run fast when I am old." She picked berries quickly, picked needles

off trees quickly and picked things off the ground 38|
quickly praying meanwhile that her movements would
always be quick and her fingers always nimble. She
ran up hill and asked that her wind would always be
good. She crossed below where water was trickling or
oozing and after passing directed the water into one
channel and made it flow past the place where she had
crossed. Then she prayed, "May no harm or sickness
cross my path or follow me".

The girl's mother gave her a peck of dried 38|
fish and other food. When little girls visited her 43|
she gave them some to eat and also some to take to
different people. She did this until all had been
distributed. When the last had been given away she
prayed, "May I always have food to give away, and may
I always think of giving to others. May I always be
liberal and never stingy".

The mother hid in the girl's lodge some small 38|
fancy thing, or pretty thing or something nicely beaded
and told her to look around as she might find something.
The girl searched and on finding the article prayed that
she would always be lucky in finding good things and
valuable things, that good things would come to her
easily, that she would be favored with plenty of furs
and other valuables, that she would, as it were, pick
up wealth, and that she would find a good husband.

Qgi Formerly some girls made medicine or went through a ceremony to help them in obtaining good husbands. This custom however has fallen into disuse lately and little is remembered of it. It is said to have been discontinued because if not done properly, the girl was injured thereby, everything turning out the reverse of what was desired. Girls did not burn part of their first blood nor did they light ceremonial fires and jump over them. A girl who was extra tall for her age, pressed down her head and prayed she would become no taller, whilst very short girls stretched themselves and stood on tip toe, etc., praying meanwhile they would grow taller. This was done because middle height was most desirable and a woman very short or very tall was not admired.

If the girl felt unwell or lazy, she jumped up quickly and cried "I am well now. May I always be able to get up out of bed if I am sick. May I never be very sick or lazy until I die".

She put a little water in the bottom of a basket and emptied it on the top of her hair. If it ran down over her body quickly, she prayed, "May sickness always leave me as quickly as this water runs". Girls made no miniatures of their handiwork to hang up as a record or for display. They put up no scaffolds and dug no trenches. Girls did not put any bird's down on

their head or hair, for if they did so their hair would turn gray very early in life. No particular washes were used for body, face or hair. Girls slept in their lodges at night and seldom left them for long nor ventured very far away. However, most marriage girls went out of their lodges for a short time to walk and exercise. Just at dawn they made wishes and prayed for obtaining of their desires. They returned to their lodge soon afterwards before people were generally astir. Some girls washed their bodies at daybreak with their hands and prayed, saying "May my body always be clean and without smell. May I always be strong". No sponges or brushes of branches or twigs were used in washing. Some girls did not wash in creeks, etc. They blew their breath over their arms and bodies, saying "May I never smell. May my body always be clean". It seems girls did not spend much of the night roaming around nor travel far, as girls of the Nilak and some other tribes do, nor did they wash themselves frequently like them. The ceremonies performed by girls varied somewhat in different individuals, also some practised more ceremonies than others. This was the case even in older times. A peculiar custom was the carrying by girls of little bags into which they put all their mistakes, and evil words and thoughts etc. These little sacks were tied around the mouth with thong or sinew. If at any time during

her training period the girl made a mistake of any kind or did a fault such as speaking to someone she should not have spoken to, she placed her mouth to the rock and put the words in it by speaking them. When finished she immediately pulled the string right, unfastening them. She did the same if she had any wrong or evil thoughts, and if she had lost her temper or been angry. When any of these things had been put in the bag she immediately afterwards prayed, for instance, "May I lose my bad temper, may I always have a good disposition". "May I never be a lazy squaw". "May I never be a gossip". "May I always do what is right", etc., etc. Thus the girl trained herself to be good tempered, and to think before she spoke or acted. At the end of her training period the girl concealed the rock with its supposed contents within a hollow tree or in a split or crevice in a rock and left it there.

Girls always prayed to the Day Dawn even although in their prayers and wishes they did not mention or address it by name. When men were near by or thought to be within sight, girls covered up their faces or kept looking at the ground in case they might see them. It was especially bad for a girl to see her brothers or uncles. If she saw them they might be hurt and die. It was also bad for girls to hear caribou or large game spoken of or named. If a girl unintentionally had lis-

[illegible] or hard game caught the ground herself of this
action, by getting in in the way among the other action.
If people (especially men) within hearing of the girl
wished to speak of game, they whispered so hold the
girl's mother, who sometimes told the girl to stay her
mate. If a girl by any chance commenced to hear game
spoken of, it was her duty to stay her mate with her
fingers at once. If a section had come within sight
of the camp and the people wished to speak about it and
the hunters discuss going after it, the girl stopped
her work and then lay down on the ground entirely covered
up. She did not uncover herself or get up until the
hunters had killed the section and returned to camp.
If she did not do this the section would run away or
the hunters have bad luck. If a girl happened to see
any game (especially large game such as section, etc.)
she at once covered her head with the hood of her robe
and turned her face the opposite way. She did not tell
anyone what she had seen.

Girls went through no special training for
obtaining of manitous, the objects of their training
thus differing considerably from those of boys. Never-
theless some girls became 'mystery', or obtained medicine
which led to their having manitous. Knowledge of this
kind came to some of them in dreams during their train-
ing and a few developed it later in life and became
almost equal to shamans

element equal to shamans.

The following were restrictions on pubescent girls, especially in regard to food:

The girl could not do fresh meat excepting the flesh of porcupine and grouse and the feet of caribou and most kinds of large game. However, girls might eat the flesh of all kinds of game and fish which had been dried or smoked, even if ever so little. They could also eat tripes and insides of caribou and other animals. In camps where there was a pubescent girl women never brought in entire carcasses of animals. They cut up and partially dried or smoked nearly all the meat at some distance from camp, bringing in only a very small portion entirely fresh.

A pubescent girl must eat no heads of any kinds of game animals. This would influence future children of the girl in some evil way, as for instance they might be troubled with earache or have abcess of the ear. Also to do so would make game too smart and wise and hunters would not be able to get near them. She must not eat beaver's feet, for her offspring might then have twisted or weak legs or feet and be poor, cripples. She must not eat bear's feet nor head's nor intestines of bear, as it might affect her children deleteriously, /and, they might/ be slow; she must not eat goat's feet for her offspring might be lazy and slow walkers.

slow walkers. She must not eat fresh meat from any part of a bear for at least three years or for a considerable time after she returned to live among people. She must not eat fresh beaver meat for the same space of time. She must not eat fresh meat of caribou, moose, or mountain for at least one year or during the time of her isolation. If a party had no meat except fresh meat for the girl to eat, the women cooked the meat a little before giving it to her to eat.

If a girl ate fresh bear meat, the hunters would be unable to find bear. If she ate fresh beaver meat, they would be unable to catch beaver. If she ate fresh moose meat it would rain and the party would have continuous bad weather. A puberscent girl must not cross a salmon stream whilst salmon are running. They would stop running and people would be unable to catch them. The period of isolation and training of girls lasted one to two years, in different families. Nowadays it is only a very few months; also nowadays many girls are not properly isolated; they are merely confined to a corner of the dwelling house. At the end of the training period, the girl had to sweat-bath, after which her body and head was washed and her hair combed by a woman of the opposite phratry. If the girl was Raven, her mother got a woman of the Wolf Phratry to comb the girl's hair. The girl's father had to give this woman a present.

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Her face was now painted red, instead of black, and it was thus painted plain red for the next four years (if she remained unmarried). Her hair was now worn straight down the back and many ornaments were attached to it. These hair ornaments, besides being ornamental, were believed by their weight to help the growth of the hair. A common hair ornament was consisted of a long flap of leather increasing in width towards the bottom and entirely covered on the outside with quill work or fringes arranged with dentalia in alternating horizontal rows. The bottom edge was ornamented with pendants of various kinds. In later days glass beads were substituted for the quillwork, etc., and tufts of colored yarn for the bottom pendants. These hair ornaments or flaps were worn one on each side of the head, extending down over (or near) the ears. The largest and most elaborate of them were used by daughters of wealthy people (See National Museum Specimen No. 49.) , also illustration of a similar good one Romans plate VIII B. Besides the side ornaments a smaller back ornament was used. It was attached to the middle of the back hair and hung down from near the top of the head. It also was made of leather and richly embroidered with shells, quills or beads and further ornamented with fringes, tassels, and pendants. Generally two or more of the pendants consisted of oval-shaped stones

enclosed in leather and embroidered. These were weights 301
intended to assist the hair to grow long. Daughters of
wealthy people wore very large long back flaps elaborately ornamented. (For an ordinary ornament for the back hair, with weights, see National Museum Specimen No. 10.)

As already stated young women wore their hair 302
full length. It was never braided. It seems some divided their hair in the middle and gathered it in three portions--two side locks and a back lock the three hair ornaments being used for tying these. It seems again the hair of some hung quite loosely and was not gathered into locks. In the latter case the hair ornaments were, it seems, attached further up on the hair than in the former case. The face was painted and the hair combed every morning. Some oiled their hair frequently.

Besides the hair ornaments, collars and 304
necklaces were worn by young women. Some of these were very showy. Those worn by daughters of rich people had a great wealth of ornamentation. The most elaborate ones were of willow rods bent into semi-circular form to hang on the breast. The rods were enclosed in leather which was embroidered all over on the outside with dentalia , quills or beads. The outside edge of the necklace or collar was fringed and

[illegible] as her power. She wore if she learned some short and long necklaces of strings of beads and bone, etc., such as used by women in general. These were in addition to those used by her as a contingentie young woman. Although she living among the people the girl had to act as a shy and retiring way and before anbewilly. She should not talk much, especially with men. She spoke sometimes to her father but seldom to her brothers and male cousins. She could, however, look at them as she wished. Some informants say girls did not care to see their brothers and males of their own phratry and did not encourage conversation with them. They however deny the use by girls to kiss of elope which they that to their suitors, when they wished to speak with males of their own phratry (see Ramona P. 1[illegible]). All these restrictions were removed at the end of four years.

Girls' ornaments were not used after marriage or in later life. Dress was not used on the head until after marriage and only for dances.

PUBERTY OF BOYS.

The time at which boys commenced training was in a general way less definite than that of girls. Boys commenced training about the time their voices changed or when they were big enough to undertake hunting and go on trips alone. Thus some lads commenced to train at an earlier period than others. Some were nearly men

[illegible]

[illegible] they commenced to train [illegible] group. Boys did not have the daughter during adolescence and therefore they adolescence put on them. They also [illegible] ceremonies and the length of [illegible] less definite. Almost the only objec[illegible] of boys was to obtain manitous. Many ceremonies or training were to engen boys in certain customs, and very lit[illegible] paid to gymnastics and special physic[illegible] Usually they continued to train only as had obtained the manitous. Whilet [illegible] manitous left each off alone on trips remaining away from two or three to [illegible] at a time. The beginning of training a feat, usually of four days duration, [illegible] trip to the mountains. Some fasted [illegible] for shorter periods. Some lads washe[illegible] considerable extent whilet others did [illegible] say some lads sweat-bathed and others [illegible] washing and sweat-bathing were not so considered as important as among the [illegible] Each lad followed his own bent, and h[illegible] his own methods of procedure in trying [illegible] manitou. Some desired different mani[illegible] Some had their minds set on obtaining

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[251] 767 whilst others had no special desires in this way. Some could not get the manitous they wished for, even if they tried to get them for a long time. This was because these particular powers (animal spirits) never came or appeared to them. In the end they had to be satisfied with whatever came to them. Some boys trained just in so far as directed in their dreams and followed their dream instructions throughout. To induce dreams and also to obtain their manitous more quickly and easily lads concentrated their thoughts as much as possible and kept their minds fixed on the objects of their desires. They practised this and trained themselves in mind concentration and will power.

[226] Some by this kind of training are said to have learned to read the minds of people and animals, etc., to some extent. Lads called on spirits of animals, birds, and powers to become their manitous and solicited aid from them and knowledge. After a time some of these spirits or powers took pity on them and spoke to them in dreams, thus becoming their manitous. Sometimes one or more of these powers spoke to them repeatedly and imparted more or less knowledge or instruction. Lads prayed to these powers before obtaining them as manitous, asking them to assist them so they would be successful at hunting. At the same time they practised those things they wished to become expert at, such as hunting, etc.

after obtaining manitous they solicited them specially. Some lads developed or obtained a good deal of knowledge during their training; some developed shamanistic knowledge and became mostly or knowing as some shamans. Some obtained the knowledge of seeing things which were distant, and could tell what had happened to things stolen or lost and where these things were. They could also tell what people were doing, although these people were absent and far away. Some others seem to have obtained knowledge of doing certain things more by practice in the doing of these things than by any knowledge directly imparted by their manitous. However, in cases like these, it was supposed (at least by some) the powers of their manitous really helped them secretly to achieve success in their undertakings. Some lads who desired to be lucky hunters practised the "cutting of tongues", like some who desired to be shamans (see under shamans)x. However most lads desiring to be good hunters prayed to become such and practised the real hunting of game. Those desiring to be good gamblers prayed to be such and at the same time practised the games of chance so as to become adept at them. Several kinds of roots were considered to be good charms for obtaining luck in games. Lads dug up different kinds

x Editor's note: /The section on shamans is not included in this typescript; apparently the writing was never completed./

778 of course and treated them as charms. Those they had to
641 look with they discovered, whilst perhaps one or two
787 they adopted as charms because they found, whatever
639 they used them, they had luck in playing. A charm
good for one individual might be no good for another
and vice versa. Some lads who desired to be good
641 warriors prepared to be such and practised whole months.
778 They also looked for charms or something which would
lend them power and help them to win. At last they
could light on something which would be of value.
Eagle feathers gave the winning power to many and there-
fore a number of men then going to battle wore eagle
641 feathers. Lads desiring to be shamans practised curing
754 of the sick. They had more to learn than others, for
to become a strong shaman required much knowledge and
generally this could not be obtained accepting by long
and hard training. (For some practices of lads learning
641 to be shamans, see under shamans) Having obtained a
778 manitou, the lad later hunted the animal or bird repre-
787 sentation of his manitou. Having killed one he kept
the skin. It seems by a person keeping the skin near
him or in his possession there was created a greater
bond between the man and his manitou and the latter
exercised a kind of guardian influence on the former.
641 No shooting, running, jumping and other similar cere-
monies such as practised by adolescent youths of the

which tribes were in vogue. It seems lads at puberty did not dress in any particular fashion, and did they do up their hair in any special style. No earrings or drinking tubes were used by them and not any particular face paints.

Some boys went through a special training different from that of ordinary boys. Those who underwent this kind of training were called by the same name as applied to pubescent girls. They consisted of lads who at puberty developed some kind of hard lump in their chests. This lump is said to be like a small stone in his breast. The lad tells his father, who then calls him pubescent and has him isolated. Generally his maternal uncle or maternal grand uncle takes charge of him and henceforth acts as his attendant and instructor. He wears a head band, a belt and two shoulder sashes of red willow (cornus) withes twisted. From now on he trains in a similar way to girls. He has to get up early and pray to the Day Dawn. He must be industrious and work at something almost continually. He bathes in streams so he may be strong and clean in after years. He walks and runs and practices shooting and marksmanship, so he may be an expert shot and a good runner and walker. He runs up hill so he may have long wind. He carries heavy loads and walks as fast as possible with them uphill so he may be able to carry

many burdens with ease. Thus to review on that in after years to say to energetic, strong, athletic, long-lived, a good hunter, able to undergo hardship, and able to do hard work. When the lad has finished his training, his weights of red ocher back to reserved, to sweat-houses and are because the same as other pubescent youths. Sometimes he takes like them and goes on trips to the mountains for the purpose of obtaining a medicine.

It seems the boring of the nose and ears and tattooing formed no part of the puberty ceremonies of either sex. It is said blood letting or scarification of the body, legs, etc., was not practised by the Tubiden youths, but it occurs among the puberty ceremonies of the Kneto. However, some Tubiden men practised it. The tip of the tongue was bit out or made to bleed by adolescent youths or others. Burning of the body was practised to a slight extent but only occasionally among the older children. (See under games.)

Pubescents only rarely made paintings of any kind. A few of both sexes made rude figures of animals etc., on blazed or peeled tree trunks. These had little meaning and it is said were made for show much in the same way as whites do who cut their initials, etc., on trees. A few of such pictures were representations of

Editor's note: /Not written, apparently./

things seen in dreams, which the boy or girl took a fancy to illustrate in this way. A whipping ceremony was in vogue but it had little or no relation to puberty.

Almost all young men (and most young women) obtained songs during their training at puberty. Lads generally acquired them whilst on trips in the mountains. Some obtained them directly or indirectly from their manitous, but it seems most of the songs were music heard (or thought to be heard) sung by unseen beings supposedly ghosts. When a youth heard a song in this way, he caught the air of it and practised it until he could sing it well. When he considered himself sufficiently proficient to sing the song in public he did so. All the other young men after painting their faces and putting down or feathers on their heads accompanied him in the singing of it. If the tune was a good one for dancing, having the right time, etc., they also danced to the song. After this the song could be used at any time. Some of these songs had airs quite new or different from any known or in use, whilst others were simply old familiar airs changed sufficiently so one could say they were different or at least variants. All young people were fond of singing and many young men and women invented songs. Most of them were old airs changed more or less. These also were introduced and sung in the

GM 933 same manner as others. All songs thus introduced were named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real medicine or shaman's songs.

M 535 787 No annual or other manitou dances were held as among the Salish where young people sang their manitou songs in turn.

884 342 Young men from the time of their attaining puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. There people lived in large camps sometimes as many as twenty young men inhabited the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being [615] 884 of the same shape and materials as other lodges. All the young unmarried men of both phratries lived together in this lodge, those of the Raven phratry sleeping on one side, those of the Wolf on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the mountains for hunting of game, training etc. They got their own wood and water and did their own cooking. They mixed very little with other people and kept to themselves.

S: Tell E-5 (1912, 1915) 1956 ND12 Nahane ND12

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[end plate 20]

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard, Dease River
Teslin

could see it" and sleight of hand. Thus a performer caused a decorated foot-long staff to disappear. Two shamans might compete in public conjuring, the object of each being to prove himself the more powerful. The loser in such a contest might die.* 756 789

Dease River Kaska. Both men and women became shamans among the people in the Dease River valley. A girl sometimes acquired her power (nznot, "strength") while undergoing menstrual seclusion. Generally in summer when a boy reached 16 he was directed to go a short distance into the bush to dream. Here he remained for about a month, living in an open camp made by clearing a patch of willows. Occasionally more adequate shelters housed the vision searcher. The youth painted his face in either red or black. While a woman was forbidden to visit the aspirant, the latter was freely visited by his father who brought food. Generally, however, a youth seeking a dream consumed little food and drank water sparingly. According to one informant a boy used the drinking tube during his seclusion but not the scratching stick, which was associated with a girl's puberty sequestration.* Sometimes three or four boys passed their vision quest together. Power came from dreaming of a "strong" animal, mythological being, sun, or moon. Girls often dreamed about otters. Power dreams were never revealed. Boys whose experiences seemed particularly effectives—for example, if they received communications from animals like the bear or mountain goat—might become successful curers. No formal instruction in shamanism followed the dream quest—"a man taught himself." While almost every man enjoyed some power, each microcosmic group customarily recognized one individual who stood out by virtue of such ability. Indirect revelation of a power source occurred when a shaman wore in his hair the feathers of a bird patron or, if his helper was a bear, carried a bear-skin headband or necklace of that animal's claws. Indians desiring to be cured either visited the practitioner or summoned him. Curers customarily performed with tattoo. Payment consisted of skins, snowshoes, or articles of wearing apparel. Sometimes a successful man received his patient's daughter as a wife, but only with the girl's explicit consent. Age enhanced a man's supernatural powers while longevity in turn proved that a man enjoyed particularly strong helpers. Such men acquired widespread reputations. Conjuring, mainly by sleight-of-hand, constituted a free part of the shaman complex and served to spread a man's ability far afield. Shamans also engaged in competitive performances. 756 789 [881]

Tutchone. An informant clearly described the source of shamanistic ability. "All kinds of game, they help," he said. "Moose, beaver, lynx, marten, otter, sheep, goat, caribou—all make people doctor. When they want to hoot they catch anything. Somebody get sick, make all right the people. The water too make somebody doctor. Water he talk, he 756

* Widespread in the northern Athapaskan area, public conjuring is also valued for the Tlingit. ". . . shamans of hostile towns vied in the habit of dressing up to fight each other by means of their spirits. Sometimes they performed for no other reason than to show their power." (Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* [1908, ed.]) Sleight-of-hand among the Tlingit is mentioned by Drucker. (Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* [1943, 226.]) From an upper Liard River informant we learn that Dease River shamans made objects disappear and also caused pieces to walk "straight into camp."

* In this connection see also the statement of another informant in reference to puberty rites for boys, p. 129 below.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

ciated lunation and the menstrual cycle. Amenorrhea was disturbing because it led to weakness, but occasionally to mine a period promised a long life—perhaps because of the association between the cessation of menstruation in advanced age. There existed no word to designate the menstrual flow. Men never mentioned the process and women spoke euphemistically about camping "way back" and then never in the company of the opposite sex.

With menarche the girl underwent her first menstrual seqmentation in an open camp located about a quarter of a mile from the dwelling. At least during this initial period, the menstrual camp was sometimes encircled by a wall of brush that obstructed the occupant's view.* Although only a single adolescent usually occupied the camp, sometimes a younger girl went along to keep the menstruant company. During her first seclusion a girl wore a large hooded robe of smoked skin, lacking sleeves, and wide enough to envelop the whole body, while the hem was pegged to the ground.* For scratching her head she employed a bone rod about five or six inches long. A swan-quill drinking tube and a special awl also constituted part of her paraphernalia. All these objects were carried on a line that passed around the girl's neck. Across the hood a mother placed another line to which she fastened small pieces of dried meat. The meat would prevent the girl from being stingy with food in womanhood. Initial seclusion lasted one month, during which time specially prepared food was carried to the menstrual camp. The menstruant, however, ate lightly and took no more than four or five swallows of water daily through the drinking tube. Also she remained industriously occupied; when other tasks were completed the girl kept her fingers busy endlessly "counting" (picking?) the needles from spruce brush on the floor of her camp. Should the parents move camp during the seqmentation period, the menstruant followed a distance behind the group and in the company of her mother. Young men dared not follow in her footsteps if they valued their dream power. At the end of the month a skin tape reaching to the elbows was substituted for the great hooded cloak. The second garment provided far greater freedom for the girl's working arms. Now, too, the pubescent returned to eat and sleep in the parent's camp, but she retained her menstrual camp for one more month. Then both garments were burned. A rich man sometimes provided a feast when his daughter completed her puberty seclusion.

Each month a menstruating woman re-entered seqmentation, remaining in the menstrual camp for the duration of the period. At this time she avoided raw (fresh?) meat, goose head, and moose marrow but could drink any amount of water. Also she did not sew cloth for her husband or children. During seclusion the woman quit wearing

* Jones speaks of the Tlingit pubescent seqmentation from four to twelve months "in some cramped, complete place." (Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* [1914], 128.) Swanton gives the period of seclusion as about two or three months. The girl "had to undergo many observances supposed to affect her future life, as also the reluctance of people around her. She took might destroy the luck of hunters, fishers, or gamblers, turn objects into stone, etc." Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 458.

* It is probably relatively fruitless to ask if historical connection exists between this robe, widespread in northwest America, and the cloak described by Wood for the Hanna girl. Wood, *Growing Up in Two Cultures* (1969).

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Dease River

841 her usual long dress and donned a knee-length garment specifically designed for such a time. She also padded her breech cloth with moss to absorb the blood. In the event that in following a traveling party she came across the scene of a moose kill, blue and red paint applied across her cheeks in horizontal lines was supposed to prevent her from seeing the animal's blood. Always the menstruant carefully avoided stepping across snowshoes, bows, or arrows. If her camp traveled by water she followed in her own canoe. A man avoided the camp where his wife stayed, fearing that close contact with the menstrual blood would cause his legs to become sore and thus render him incapable of hunting or performing other work. A menstruating wife who struck her husband's trail while he was on a war party imperiled him seriously. Hence such a woman did not move around when her husband was away fighting. Sexual intercourse with a menstruant caused a man to pass blood in his urine so that he would sicken and [836] die. Despite this belief boys seized on the easy accessibility of girls in seclusion who, in turn, did not always resist their advances. When they became ill the youths might confess such an offense.*

846 *Dease River Kaska.* Even before a boy reached puberty he began to participate in exercises designed to toughen him and induce resistance to cold. Stripped to the skin, boys plunged into icy water. Upon emerging they were whipped on the upper arms by fathers or grandfathers using willow switches. A boy did not cry out or flinch under this treatment, which continued until he became adult. The informant lauded the effectiveness of these induration customs, explaining that because of them hunters could sleep outdoors in winter without a robe to protect them from the cold.*

881 Upon reaching menarche the Dease River girl retired to a camp located some distance from the family dwelling. Here she was surrounded by a circular enclosure made by planting willows in the ground and enclosing an area three feet in diameter. In winter a six-foot high spruce bark conical shelter provided the menstruant with a hut. Explaining segregation, an informant said that it prevented the death of the girl's brother. During her seclusion the girl covered herself with a sleeveless robe of fully tanned caribou skin fashioned with a hood that extended nearly a foot in front of her

* Among the Poly River people, "when a girl first comes to the age of puberty she was made to go away about a quarter of a mile from the main camp and camp alone in a skin tent. She was allowed to cook nothing. Food was sent by a female from her father's camp and no male was allowed to see her or pass close where she was stopping as if he did it was supposed to bring him bad luck either by sickness or hunting. She wore a mask over her face which she wore whenever she came out of her tent. If the Indians move camp she came last and camped behind them whenever she camped. If it was winter one or two of the other females travelled with her and they put gum in the seams every track that crossed their trail when the track came on a trail no matter where it was or no matter when the track was they had to clear it all before the girl could pass. . . . After this, whenever she had her menstrua, whether she was married or not, she had to camp alone for at least four days, but did not have to wear a mask or put bangs across any track she might come to travelling." Field, Unpublished manuscript (1943), 8.

* Among the Tahltan, which men who wished to harden themselves especially whipped each other's backs with willow switches. Plunging nude into snowbanks and ice water was a common exercise. Dawson, The Indians of Canada (1892, 57.) "Puberty ceremonials appear to be rather strongly developed," says Teit for the Tahltan, adding that "a whipping custom was prevalent. . . ." Teit, Ethnobotany (Ethnobotany) West (1912), 480.

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Dease River

face. The hood obstructed any view the sky, which was partly its intended function. Below the robe she wore ordinary garb. The pubescent used water sparingly during her seclusion, drinking through a quill or willow tube whose use prevented diarrhoea. To scratch the head with fingers threatened loss of her hair; hence the scratching stick of wood or bone. Initial seclusion is said to have lasted from three months to a year. If the parents moved camp in this period the girl was escorted by her mother. Upon crossing a frozen lake the girl occasionally planted a willow stick in the snow.[32] Menstruants did not have to break a fresh trail. Informants could not recall the bull boat or canoe used along the Fort Nelson and lower Liard rivers.[33] Subsequent to menarche the girl dispensed with the ceremonial paraphernalia but passed each period in a brush camp where she stayed for three or four days. A padding of dry moss inside the breech cloth served to absorb the menstrual blood.

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Ideally it was dangerous to have sex relations with a menstruating woman, nevertheless boys shedding adult watchfulness, sometimes visited the camp of a sequestrated girl and engaged her in coitus. The following remarks transcribed from a 23-year old woman refer specifically to the post-contact period but probably reveal some of the sentiments and conditions formerly associated with menstrual ceremonialism.[34] Speaking of her initial seclusion, which she passed in the house, the girl said:

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> I stayed in the house one month and never see my brother. Mama had to cook two bannocks and I only eat dry meat. I had to pick needles off spruce brush so I could sew good. If I get fresh meat my uncle or my daddy have to clear it for me. Not allowed to laugh for one month! Not supposed to eat wild chicken. They say you get gray quick. Never eat fresh berries. My aunt had tent alone but me where time and I stay in the house. When my grandpa come back I go with my aunt. When a man come into the house I must not look at him but I talk to him. My grandma always watch. Used to be that boy did same thing like girl.
>
> I wanted to go to dance. I much cut when grandma went bigfather grandma come and I come back. I tell grandma I want to go but she say no. Gee, I get mad. Mama and daddy they all go. Grandma always watch, just like policeman.
>
> All the boys go to May's tent [the informant's aunt] when grandma sleep. In morning they all go. Grandma never know. That's why mama never lose one kid, we all live. My auntie [referring to another aunt, not May] lose lots of kids. My auntie never tell when she get sick. May she tell but she never do right. That's why we lose our auntie. They say that's May's fault.
>
> When a woman sore throat or swollen she takes match box and turns it around and around [describes a circle with her hand]. Then then you handle kalle somebody hold your hand and make you cut. Woman does this. A man makes you chop things with axe. A woman makes you sew.

Attention may be called to the informant's statement, "Used to be that boy did same thing like girl." It is not clear if the informant intended to refer to the youth's vision quest or to his puberty ceremony. Such a ceremony is reported for other Athapaskan peoples.[35]

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[32] This seemingly considerate of the chief followed by returning warriors among the Upper Liard Kaska. See above, p. 95.

[33] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 85, 91.

[34] The informant is Dorothy Phelps. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 51, 149-150.

[35] Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina* (1937), 163-165.